

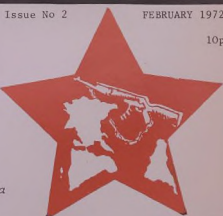
LIBERATION STRUGGLE

An international anti-imperialist monthly forum, mainly for the overseas communities in Britain and Europe, covering the direction of events in Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America and with a special focus on Africa

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NAMIBIA: SETTING RECORD STRAIGHT

Over the last two months or so we have been entertained by the press reporting about 'the Ovambo strike in South West Africa'. The concern of the Western press has nothing to do with the real aspirations of the people of Namibia.



Equipping himself for national liberation

The Sunday Times of London carried its reports on the situation in the Business News section. It is not only the fascist South African government presence that is under threat of liquidation there, but also the dividends from the over-exploited mines as well. Amongst the 'owners' of these mines we find our old friends Anglo-American, Rio Tinto, American Metal Climax, Newmont Mining Company, etc.

And you know what they say? 'Oh yes, the "contract system" (under which the workers from Ovamboland, Okavango and Angola - they call these the "northern and extra-territorial natives" - are recruited for industry, farmers and domestic chores) is completely outdated'.

FINDING A SCAPEGOAT

Trust them to find a scapegoat. New-SWANIA ('New' since the Nationalist Party came to power, then it was simply the South West Africa Native Labour Association) is to blame. Who belongs to this 'Association'? The South African government, the White Farmers Union, the Mining and Fishing Industry and the South West Africa Administration representing the rank and file whites in Namibia. Not a single representative of the workers to be recruited, not even the few puppet 'Chiefs'.

MYTH OF TRIBALISM

Having said that, what is the situation then? The facts are these. Namibia

is one country. The people are one. As we find everywhere in the world, the Namibian nation consists of various linguistic or ethnic groups, like Britain has the Welsh, Scots and English. Now the South African government found it expedient to impose its rule by stressing and exaggerating these purely linguistic differences. When the people of Namibia emerged from the German concentration camps at the end of World War II the South African government conveniently channelled them into 'Native Reserves' according to their 'tribes'. This division was even extended to the situation in the urban 'Native Locations'.

Hence it was that the people in organising themselves against the South African government initially had to do it at 'local' level. Thus in the past we had heard of 'the Hereros' petitioning the United Nations, the 'Namas' resisting removal from Hoachanas, the 'Basters' opposing the government in Bechoboth and the 'Damaras' wanting to go to the United Nations to put their case.

At the same time the South African government hastened to claim that 'the Ovambos' are fully in support of the government. Now we know that this was a blatant lie. But of course the mass media belonged to those who favoured that kind of presentation. Even some of our liberal friends fell

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NEO-COLONIALISM AND GHANA

by KWESI SCHECK, Secretary of the Convention People's Party of Ghana Overseas Branch, who is also General Secretary of CWJ

Busia was not really elected to power as was often claimed by the British press.

The fact is, like the enthronement of Prince Charles as the Prince of Wales - an act carefully prepared and sophisticatedly carried out by the British ruling class rather than by the people of Wales themselves - Busia was imposed on the people of Ghana through the deceitful machinations of the military junta of the day, with the full support and connivance of the leading imperialist countries, including Britain.

Before Busia was toppled by the Ghana Army on January 13th 1972, his rule was unpopular. In fact, he never enjoyed the support of the masses. Busia was the political adviser to the so-called N.L.C. Through his advice under the N.L.C., not only were the two gallant soldiers, Arthur and Yeboah publicly shot (the first such incident in the history of Ghana) for their part in the abortive coup of 1967; but also miners on strike demonstrating were gunned down by the police. Three were killed and several wounded.

Busia used every means possible not only to annihilate the workers, but also to stop strikes and unrest in the country.

When all failed, he banned the TUC.

In 27 months Busia incurred Ghana a foreign debt of \$530 million.

However, the British press kept mute about all these anomalies under Busia.

Instead, it talked of Busia practicing democracy in Ghana.

Now the question is: how would the British public view the British TUC government banning the British TUC just because the Post Office workers or the miners were on strike? Wherein lies democracy?

Do not gasp. This was precisely what happened under Busia in Ghana.

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The second part of an exclusive interview with Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria that Deputy General Editor AHMED RAJAB obtained recently for *LIBERATION STRUGGLE*. Since the first part of this interview appeared in our January issue, it has been reported that Cleaver has resigned from his position as Minister of Information, Black Panthers International Section, and has now taken up a special assignment in the newly-formed Afro-American Liberation Army.

Last month, Cleaver spoke of the formation of the Black Panther Party in the USA in October 1966 and of the growth of the movement. With an increase in the number of confrontations with the police and the death or arrest of many Panthers, a divergence of opinion emerged among members on what tactics the party should use - whether to carry on with armed confrontation with the police, or to channel activities into other directions, like social programmes. At this stage, Cleaver had left the country, and David Hilliard who Cleaver feels wrongly opted for social programmes was in control of the Panthers. Huey Newton was due to be released from prison, and it was felt by many members that he would resolve the internal strife that was tearing the party apart. We resume the interview as Newton is released in August 1970.

(The CWJ is inviting Huey Newton, Stokely Carmichael (or any of the Afro-American leading activists) to reply to Cleaver's analysis of the Afro-American struggle. We hope to publish such material in our fourth issue).

Eldridge Cleaver on the Struggle



Eldridge Cleaver (wearing glasses) during his visit to the People's Republic of the Congo

Huey was released in August of 1970, and people were very hopeful that he would move to straighten the party out, but instead of doing this he came under the influence of David Hilliard. He completely supported David Hilliard and even strengthened his position in the party. So that, after two or three months of Huey being free it became clear that he was not going to deal with the situation; and this is what brought about the split in the party. The split actually occurred six months after Huey was released. It became formal in February 1971.

The events that immediately brought it on were the expulsion from the party and the denunciation in the party newspaper of the comrades who were imprisoned in New York, and who were known as the 'New York 21'. Most important of all was the expulsion and denunciation of the comrade by the name of Geronimo who was the deputy Minister of Defence and the leader of the Los Angeles branch of the Black Panther Party. He had also to go underground and it was he who was in charge of the clandestine apparatus of the party. It was the activities of David Hilliard and Huey Newton that were responsible for Geronimo being betrayed and arrested in Dallas, Texas.

POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION DEFINED

So when these events occurred, it was definitely necessary to take a position against David Hilliard and Huey Newton, and many comrades were taking this position. In February, we in the International Section - because there were three members of the Central Committee of our party who were over here (in Algeria) - took a position demanding that David Hilliard be dismissed from the position of Chief of Staff of our party. Although we did not initiate the split, it became focussed around the differences between the Oakland office of the party and the International Section.

People talk of it in terms of a split between us and Huey. But actually there was a split between many members of the party and the Oakland leadership; and we happened to take the same position as the other members of the party. We no longer recognise the leadership that existed in Oakland. We no longer recognise the national headquarters that existed in Oakland. Instead the New York branch of the party took the responsibility of establishing the focus for a new national headquarters; and we recognise this national headquarters.

(Continued on next page)

We were in a position where the party machinery had been torn apart and we had to undertake the task of reorganising that party machinery. We have been dealing with that since February and we think that the events since the split have made clear the urgent need for that separation to have been made, because Huey Newton and those other people in Oakland with him have completely retreated on all the revolutionary principles of the party.

'WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM'

They have adopted a position of endorsing 'working within the system'. They have endorsed the Nixon administration's doctrine of Black Capitalism (which is really a neo-colonialist doctrine). They have even retreated from an ideological position of materialism to idealism, and relating to some concept of God and returning to the Church and religion.

RdJAB: So there is a crisis of ideology within the party?

Cleaver: Well, there was a crisis, a conflict, before the party split. Now we do not think that within our group there is a crisis, because all that we had to do was to rewrite some of our material. Before, our material was focussed on Huey Newton as the leader of our party. Then, after the split took place, we had to tie up the loose ends, you might say. One of the important things that had to be done was to disassociate ourselves ideologically from Huey Newton. We did not have to come up with a new ideology because the existing ideology was valid. What we did have to do was to separate that ideology from Huey Newton, which meant rewriting some things. There has been some ideological progress made and there has been some consolidation of our ideology.

On the whole problem of the contradiction inside the Afro-American liberation movement between Marxism-Leninism and black nationalism and cultural nationalism, we think that there has been a sort of coming together as a result of certain factors that have taken place factors such as the visit that we made to the People's Republic of the Congo.

The experience that the comrades there have had has been a direct refutation of some of the ideological positions that existed inside the Afro-American Liberation Movement.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S 'PAN-AFRICANISM'

Stokely advances a concept of Pan Africanism which he never really clearly defines, but which is based on a lot of emotional appeals to the colour of one's skin; a very strong attack upon Marxism-Leninism and upon Socialism, pointing out, for instance, that in Cuba where they claim to be Marxist-Leninists and where they claim to have constructed socialism, the problem of racism has not been solved.

So he uses these kinds of examples to totally condemn any relevance any Marxism-Leninism, and actually identifies it as an enemy of the black people. The experience in the Congo, on the other hand, where you have black people who are also Marxist-Leninists clearly shows that it is not impossible for black people to use Marxism-Leninism. Our visit to the People's Republic of the Congo was very useful to us in providing a moral of the application of Marxism-Leninism by black people.

We feel that we have successfully taken the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and applied them to our specific situation by interpreting the history of our struggle through the Marxist-Leninist analysis. This is our ideology, and we feel secure and comfortable with this. So that

ATTENTION

Please note that since **LIBERATION STRUGGLE** is a forum for anti-imperialist militants, all reports and signed features do not necessarily coincide with the collective view of the CWJ as an organisation.

when we are confronted with some of the bad practices of Cuba or of the Soviet Union, or even of the People's Republic of China, it does not make us throw our ideology overboard. We feel this can only be possible when people have a firm grasp of Marxism-Leninism, and we feel that this has taken place inside our movement. This is what we call the consolidation of our ideology.

UNIVERSAL IDEOLOGY, LOCAL APPLICATION

We feel that we have made the ideology our own. We don't have to use Cuban history as our ideology. This is one of the mistakes that people have made in the past. They take Cuban history and they call that Marxism-Leninism; they take Soviet history and they call that Marxism-Leninism. They confuse some of the principles of Marxism-Leninism with some of the specific historical problems confronted by those revolutions. The way that people write history or ideology from a nationalistic point of view, they put their own history into the ideology. Other people read it and they say: 'Well, this is Marxism-Leninism', when in fact it's Chinese history, Russian history, or Cuban history.

So we make a distinction between the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the local application of those universal principles through a specific situation. (To be continued next month)

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Do you want to join the Centre for Writers and Journalists from the Exploited World (CWJ) which publishes **LIBERATION STRUGGLE**? You are eligible to join if you are a writer or a journalist or one involved or interested in collecting and distributing information about the struggle, one who believes in world revolution - and if you are from Africa, the Middle East, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America or any other part of the Exploited World. You would be both an Associate Member of CWJ and a Special Correspondent of **LIBERATION STRUGGLE**, if you wish. By joining CWJ you will:

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- (2) get free criticism of your articles and manuscripts to prepare them for publication;
- (3) get free advice on markets for your articles and manuscripts;
- (4) get special consideration for your reports and articles for publication in **LIBERATION STRUGGLE**;
- (5) be put in touch with other revolutionary information workers and critics throughout the world;
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If you are interested, please fill in the form below.

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Cheques and money orders should be made payable to: **Afro-Journalism Fund.**

I enclose joining fee and two passport-size photographs

Application to: General Secretary, CWJ, The Basement, 101-103 Gower St, London WC1E 6AA, England.

AID: CHARITY OR EXPLOITATION?

As a follow-up to the article in our last issue on the imperialist nature of the World Bank by CWO General Secretary KWESI SCHECK, here AHMED RAJAB, our deputy General Editor, throws more light on the exploitative relationship between 'former' colonial powers and the Exploited World.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Pearson Commission Report sponsored by the World Bank have both called on the rich countries (i.e. the exploiting countries) to make available one per cent of their Gross National Product (GNP) for transfer to the poor world (i.e. the exploited world). Are such levels sufficient to alleviate world poverty?

Perhaps the word 'sufficient' is a misnomer in this context, since - judging from past experiences - it is evident that the present form of international economic 'cooperation' has not helped in leading developing countries towards self-reliance. Nor does it help in eradicating poverty. This, of course, is because of the prevalent economic injustice in international policies dealing with trade, investment and aid.

In 1968 £2,810 million was given by the exploiting world to Fannon's 'Third World' for development projects which benefited little his 'Wretched of the Earth'. Taking into account the inflationary situation of the Western world with its monetary instability - with the US recession, aid charges, repayment charges, etc - the real value of aid has been going down. Measured against the Western world's GNPs, aid fell by 30 per cent between 1960 and 1967.

'CHARITABLE' EXPLOITATION

For the same year, 1968 the total figure that the exploited world had to pay in interest and repayment charges was £1,670 million. This figure is well over half the 'aid' that these countries supposedly received. According to the prediction of some economists and World Bank estimates, if the present levels of aid are maintained, by 1980 some exploited countries will have to earmark all their aid for repayments, so that the net inflow of external resources will be nil.

That the obnoxious word 'aid' is used to conceal the real economic self-interest of the exploiting world can clearly be seen in the statements of some Western officials concerned with aid programmes. Thus on 15th September, 1968 Reginald Prentice, MP, the then Minister of Overseas Development had this to say on Britain's part in this 'charitable' exploitation:

'About two thirds of our aid is spent on goods and services from Britain. In other words, only about £70 million a year is spent in foreign currencies. Meanwhile we get back about £80 million a year in repayments of old loans under the aid programme. Taking these two figures together the net cost in foreign exchange is very small indeed.'

Eugene Black, the former President of the World Bank, once said:

'...Our foreign aid programmes constitute a distinct benefit to American business. The three major benefits are: (1) Foreign aid provides a substantial and immediate market for United States goods and services (2) Foreign aid stimulates the development of new overseas markets for United States companies (3) Foreign aid orients

national economies toward a free enterprise system in which US firms can prosper.'

IMPERIALIST COERCION: WHAT TO DO

It is not surprising therefore to find that the 'charitable' multilateral institutions - the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, International Development Association, International Finance Corporation, etc - are thoroughly dominated by US and British government appointees who make sure that their actions tally with the dictates of imperialist world strategy.

It is not surprising either to see that Britain has recently put pressure on the World Bank to refuse Tanzania a £4,300,000 loan for a tea development project. The flimsy argument presented by Britain is that Tanzania is not eligible for the loan because it has seized without compensation foreign-owned property (including that of British subjects of Asian origin who are not allowed into Britain notwithstanding).

What must be noted, however, is that in most 'developing' countries the governments are composed of or controlled by an indigenous elite, i.e. the African bourgeois class. Many of these 'Third World' bourgeois governments know that the relationship between them and the imperialist governments is exploitative - a capitalist relationship. But these African governments themselves believe in capitalism and are trying to develop it. Members of this 'elite' or bourgeoisie benefit economically from this relationship both personally and as a class. Indeed, even for this class to continue in power, it needs Western imperialist support.

It is for these reasons that most 'developing' countries find it difficult to organise any anti-imperialist confrontations. For example, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for Kenya and Senegal to organise any such economic confrontation against Britain, France and the USA, countries who are in many respects their allies - no matter how exploitative they are.

It is interesting to find the exploited countries still peddling blithely into the cobwebs of the World Bank and its associated organisations; even though it is the declared policy of some of these countries (like, for instance, Tanzania) to have an internal-oriented economy based on self-reliance. The time has now come for these progressive countries to seriously reconsider their development strategy and to resign from these exploiting institutions that encourage and perpetuate oppression.



SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON THE EXPLOITED WORLD

For reasons of space we are unable to include in this issue the list of sources of information on the Exploited World which the Europe/Africa Research Project has undertaken to provide each month in *Liberation Struggle* for researchers, study/action groups and other interested people.

MORE NOTES ON 'AID'

by PAUL CAVADINO

Additional facts and figures on the strings attached to aid from the West and the benefits the donors get from giving it.

COMMERCIAL STRINGS

Aid is frequently given to promote the commercial interests of the rich countries rather than the development of the poor ones. In July, 1968, an under-Secretary at the Board of Trade told the House of Commons Estimates Committee: 'It would be wrong to suggest that aid has been given without regard to British commercial interests...at the present time, and as things have moved since the Overseas Development Ministry was set up, there is even more commercial emphasis in the way we look at aid questions'.

TIED AID

Three quarters of world aid and over half of British aid is 'tied', which means that it must be spent on goods provided by the aid-giving country even when the same goods can be bought far more cheaply elsewhere. A study of credits for 20 projects in Pakistan showed that the price paid was over 50 per cent higher than if the materials had been bought from the cheapest source.

In Malawi a farm institute was built with Freedom from Hunger Campaign funds at a cost of £48,000. When the same project was discussed with the official US Aid Agency, their estimate of the cost was £73,000: here again timing would have put up the price by over 50 per cent.

The Pearson Report of 1969 said: 'Of all the limitations on the flexibility of aid, the tying of aid to purchase in the aid-giving countries is the most serious...Aid-tying imposes many different costs on aid-receiving countries. It requires them to purchase goods from donors at prices often substantially above those in competitive world markets...Estimates of direct costs vary, but individual country estimates indicate that they frequently exceed 20 per cent'. George Woods, when President of the World Bank, said of tied aid: 'If you want to subsidise your manufacturers, then do it. But for heaven's sake don't call it aid'.

AID AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

As far as British aid is concerned, roughly two-thirds of it returns to Britain, as the poor countries use it to buy British goods and pay British personnel working in their countries. This means that, of each £10 million - given the cost to the balance of payments is only about £3 million - and this is not counting the money which comes back in loan repayment.

On top of this, Britain also does very well out of the expenditure on British exports arising from other countries' aid programmes: Britain's aid to the poor countries is only 7 per cent of the world's total, while her exports to them are 12 per cent of the world's total.

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Thus, for instance, it was announced in 1967 that for every pound Britain gives to the International Development Association, she receives back £1.50 in trade.

So much for the 'crippling' effect of aid on the balance of payments!



US IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AMERICA

by S. SOLOMON BULGIN,
our Caribbean Editor

The following outline is the first of a series on the Caribbean, Central and South America by a CWI Editor which will endeavour to explain in simple terms the political, economic, social and cultural philosophies of various countries, to examine their relationships with one another and the political and economic organisations which benefit from these alliances. The nature of the relationship between the primary goods-producing countries in these areas and the United States will also be analysed.

'.....Jamaica, which has lands rich enough to grow almost anything, imports £20 million of food a year...the shy, gentle children of the deep country drift of living on US surplus food and die helplessly into the towns to become servants, prostitutes and loafers...'

So wrote Colin McIlashan in the *Sunday Times Magazine* 'Planet Earth' series (Part 9, November 21st 1971).

The Caribbean, one part of which was described in the tragic terms above, is an arc of islands made up of several racial groups - the legacy of a situation dating back to the Fifteenth Century created by various competing European powers.

Stretching from Florida to the coast of Venezuela 'the Antilles' have been used by the Western powers, especially the United States, for purposes of plunder and easy profit. The fundamental needs of the people being thus exploited have been ignored, their own cultural inheritance discounted, and their whole existence has been one of abject misery from the time Christopher Columbus set foot on the Americas and systematically began to kill the indigenous people of that region - the Caribs and the Arawak Indians.

Today that region south of the United States of America is plagued by hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy on a large scale.

DEHUMANISATION THEN AND NOW

After Columbus came Henry Morgan, Governor Cunningham and a whole host of others whose avaricious exploits began a tradition which resulted in open and systematised domination and exploitation by foreign capitalist interests of land, raw materials and labour.

For over three hundred years up to the present 'emancipated' days the Caribbean has been the scene of a dehumanising process aimed at creating one profitable sector or another for the benefit of British and American corporations. The main operators are the United Fruit Company of America (of which Fyffes is a subsidiary) and various members of the Sugar Exporters Association like Bookers of Guyana and Kelly-Lawsons of Jamaica, to name but two.

The situation existing in the Windward Islands - Dominica, St Lucia and Granada - is similar to other examples already mentioned. They are dominated economically by the giant Dutch corporation Geest. Fyffes, in the same banana business, has spread its tentacles into Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean as well as Central and South American countries like Panama, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Brazil, for instance.

AFRICA AND THE COMMON MARKET

by PIUS E. A. UCHEGBU, our West Africa Editor

The subject he deals with here formed part of his own PhD thesis

The political overthrow of the colonialists in Africa has revealed the real basis of colonialism, which is political and economic. With a so-called independence having been won, imperialism reared its ugly head to impede genuine independence.

BOURGEOIS STRUGGLE

The pre-independence nationalist revolutionaries had waged a political struggle without accompanying it with the struggle for economic independence. In so doing they showed a basic misunderstanding of the logic of imperialism. They did so because the struggle was a bourgeois one whose immediate interest was to replace the European bourgeoisie with an indigenous one. Having achieved this, the African bourgeois has found that he cannot maintain his position without European capital.

So he has entered into an unholy hand-in-glove alliance which is revealed, for instance, in the economic treaties between the EEC and the eighteen Associated African States, and, as recently as in 1969, between the EEC on the one hand and Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania on the other. The substance of both treaties is the same except that in the case of the East Africans the treaty does not include finance such as aid. The eighteen are: Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Zaïre (formerly Congo Kinshasa), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia and Upper Volta.

BACKGROUND TO THE TREATIES

When the Common Market was constituted in 1957 by Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, all the African

members of the Market were still not independent. A minor disagreement between Germany and Italy (both of which had colonies) and the other members of the Market about the ratio of the share from the profits of exploitation coming from Africa was resolved. Germany and Italy agreed to the association of the eighteen African colonies to the Community. This was constituted in Article 131 of the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

In Article 131 the purpose of the Association was declared to be 'to promote the economic and social development and to establish close economic relations between them and the Community as a whole'. From this it appears that after over a century of colonialism these African countries still needed economic assistance for development.

In the Treaty of Rome, the opinion of the African countries was not expressed as, according to the theory of international law, they did not either individually or together constitute a state.

STRENGTHENING OF IMPERIALISM

In 1963, the eighteen African States achieved the political overthrow of the colonialists, who now strengthened the bonds of imperialism. The African bourgeoisie embraced the erroneous idea that economic development must need aid and capital from those who have them. The devils they knew were still the colonialists who had shaped the economic structure of their countries by linking it with that of the metropolitan centre in Paris, Bonn, etc.

Lacking a correct ideology and sharing a common outlook with the overthrow European colonialists, the African bourgeoisie succumbed to the imperialist wooing and the Yaounde Convention was enacted in 1963 amidst the flow of champagne in Cameroon. The spirit of the colonial struggle was betrayed. The African revolutionaries now began a new type of struggle - the struggle against imperialism. The enemies are now the African bourgeoisie and their foreign allies.

The African leadership attempted to sell to the people the idea that the Convention was necessary to allow it time to grasp the games of power politics in a world context. It justified this by pointing to the fact that the duration of the Convention was five years.

The story did not sell because the period of five years was to strengthen the ties of imperialism, to invite monopoly capitalism to share with it the fruits of the people's labour and to prevent a qualitative change in the economic order. The events in Chad in 1966 are a case in point. To expose the deceit, the Convention was again renewed in 1969 for another five years. By now it has become clear that only a revolution will liberate the African toiling class from this conspiracy of imperialism.

WEAKENING OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

In the 1963 Convention, the African States were given a bourgeois respectability by being declared to be equal in law with the members of the Community. In the Treaty, therefore, a free trade area was created. By this it means that exports into the territories

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afro-america: a betrayal foreseen

by A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

An African in the USA gives his assessment of a new Committee on Africa: who backs it, what is its composition, whose interests it is really serving?

Washington, February

During the last two years Afro-Americans have steadily increased their interest and identification with the oppressed blacks of Southern Africa. Today this interest exploded in a press-conference by the 'African Heritage Studies Committee on Positive Action.'

The statement was made by Dr James Turner, Secretary-General of African Heritage Studies, who is now also Co-ordinator of this Positive Action Committee; Dr Willard R. Johnson; and Dr Ronald Walter, Chairman of the Department of Political Science, Howard University (a predominantly black university).

WHAT THE COMMITTEE PROPOSES

This Committee proposes 'to mobilise the resources and activities of the black community across the nation in support of the liberation struggle being waged in Southern Africa by our African Brothers' and hopes to 'join forces with all existing community organisations and groups in the black community and other people in support of this struggle.'

Various actions are proposed, for instance canvassing Congress about the Azores agreement, urging no military sales to the fascist regimes, and, significantly, asking 'our brothers and friends on the docks' to refuse to unload chrome from Rhodesia which is expected some time in March.

Brothers and sisters of Southern Africa no doubt welcome these proposed actions, as also the formation of the Committee, but unfortunately it is necessary to make a few comments both about the press conference itself and the African Heritage Studies Association and its composition.

THE PRESS CONFERENCE

At the press conference, held in a small room on Capitol Hill, there were about eight people, a rather motley crowd of black and white. There was no TV coverage - a disaster in America. Above all, there was no representative from Africa itself in any official position, nor even a member of the Black Caucus (of Afro-American politicians) - Mrs S. Butcher, Staff Consultant on the Sub-Committee on Africa of the House of Representatives was present. No black labour representative was there, although during question time it was stated that letters had been sent to labour officials. Nor were there any other black organisations represented there, apart from the Washington Correspondent of *Muhammed Speake*.

In short, the Press Conference was badly organised - hardly a credit to Ronald Walter, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at a Black University, who called it.

WHAT KIND OF INTEREST IN AFRICA?

What in fact is this African Heritage Studies Association to which the Committee for Positive Action is 'affiliated'? Let us see their overall interest in Southern Africa.

At their Third Annual Conference (held April 8th-11th 1971) there was no clear statement about Southern Africa. And the Conference was on 'Education for Liberation'.

The present initiative seems to be a response to criticisms made about this. What is most disturbing is the elitist nature of the organisation, and even of the Committee on Positive Action. Most of the people sponsoring the latter are from universities, and what is more people like James Joseph, of the Irwin-Sweeney Miller Foundation; Mabel Smythe of the Phelps Stokes Fund; Haskell Ward, Ford Foundation; and Walter Carrington of the African-American Institute, which is funded by, among others, American Metal Climax, Chase Manhattan Bank Foundation, First National City Bank, IBM World Trade Corporation, Mobil Foundation, Newsweek, Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. *Africa Report*, their publication, was of course present at the press conference, in the person of Bruce Oudes.

Where is the black liberation in all this? What is all this manipulation about?

AGENTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT

We need the black people of America; we need their concerted action to expose and frustrate US policy towards Africa, especially Southern Africa. But we do not believe that this action can be led by blacks who are more for the 'American Pie', concerned with their identity crisis, and not really for the total liberation of the black man. Afro-America, the enemy is not just white - beware of this Action Committee!

The class nature of the Afro-American struggle is becoming clearer and clearer every day, as more and more anti-revolution whites, confusionists, the black aspiring bourgeoisie and the establishment agents are exposed.



(Continued from page 1)

for that - SWAPO was described as an 'Ovambo' organisation, SWANU as a 'Herero' organisation, etc.

This claim that the 'Ovambos' and added to that the 'Damaras' are in support of the government was accentuated and especially peddled after the International Court of Justice ruled in an Opinion to the United Nations that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal. Following that campaign, Bishop Avela of the Ovamboland Lutheran Church and Moderator Gwase of the Damaraland Lutheran Church decided to put the record straight.

BANTUSTAN POLICY OPENLY REJECTED

They addressed an open letter to the South African Prime Minister telling him that the people of Namibia were opposed to oppression which was the result of the government apartheid policies. The South African Prime Minister flew to Windhoek and invited them to see him. They repeated their accusations in his presence. Apart from the open letter to Vorster, the eminent churchmen also addressed a 'pastoral letter' to their congregations in which they condemned apartheid.

Immediately after this some 'civil servants' in the Ovamboland Bantustan Administration confronted the Bantustan government-appointed leaders with demands amounting to the rejection of the Bantustan policy of the South African government. At the same time, the workers from Ovamboland (the most exploited workers in Namibia) decided to challenge the government and the 'contract system' was chosen as the most convenient instrument as it was the most slave-binding of all malpractices of the South African government in the country.

IF NOT ABOLISHED WE SHALL DESTROY IT!

During October and November 1971 the South African officials told meetings in Ovamboland that the 'contract system' was there by choice of the people themselves. In December the people decided to tell these officials and others concerned what they thought of that - and in the most positive and telling manner. Their message was simple, just as their organisation was perfect. 'We the people reject the system and if not abolished we shall destroy it.' They went on strike.

They then published their demands. The puppet Chiefs were summoned and after a meeting between the Chiefs and the South African Bantu Administration Minister, as well as the representatives of industry and white farmers, it was announced that a new system had been devised. What was this? Instead of the workers having to report at the SWANU headquarters in Grootfontein for dispatch as beasts of burden to places of labour, they are now to report at 'Labour Bureaux' to be established in Ovamboland itself.

As this is being written, news has come in that now they have gone a step further. They have justifiably burnt down some of the 'Compounds', and the situation is reported to be 'tense'. What has to be understood is that the 'Ovambo Strike' is not an isolated event. It is not a tribal affair. It is not a regional dispute. It is a phase in the progress of the National Liberation Struggle in Namibia. In the long term it is an expressive feature of the Namibian Socialist Revolution.

of all the African States and those constituting the Community shall receive preferential treatment as compared with all other non-members of the Association.

The fundamental principle enunciated is discrimination. While the exports of the eighteen African States such as unroasted coffee, tea, pineapples, coconut, cocoa-beans (raw or roasted), pepper, etc., are allowed into the territories of the Six free of customs duties, similar products from all other African states, Asia and Latin America continue to pay customs duties, which are sometimes very heavy. The old method of weakening revolutionary movement by the divide-and-rule tactic is again called into use. Similarly, exports of the Six get into the territories of the eighteen almost free of customs duties in discrimination against other capitalist and socialist countries.

IMPROVING REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS

To drive the lesson home, the Convention allowed free investment in the territories of the eighteen, and an almost unrestrained free movement of capital, that is to say freedom to remove the profits from the source of labour to the geographical base of capital in Europe. It must be acknowledged, however, that through investment the climate of revolution is being improved because investment breeds a proletariat, gives the elite a technical know-how, improved revolutionary consciousness - all trappings necessary for anti-imperialist revolution.

PERPETUAL UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Besides trade the financial structure of the imperialist countries is closely linked with the eighteen (a feature not limited to the eighteen). The Convention created a bank to loan money to the African states for their development. In the final analysis, this bank is an instrument which facilitates exploitation and functions as a source of bribes for preventing the African bourgeoisie from becoming too nationalistic. With its method of loan with interest, it ensures a perpetual underdevelopment of the eighteen states.

HIERARCHIES OF EXPLOITATION

Who actually benefits from these economic treaties? It is easy thinking that because the African contracting parties are exploited all benefits accrue to the member states of the EEC. The facts, however, show that in this decade the terms of trade of the developing countries including those of the African States have been very poor indeed.

In EEC circles discussion on the trade relationship between them and the African States is a sore topic. However they are ever so willing to churn out statistics of aid, loans given to the eighteen. This aid, however, certainly develops the country by providing employment in newly established industries or expanded ones, road construction which improves communications, etc. It is nevertheless sadly the case that the bulk of the people do not benefit from these accrued benefits. It is a condition of these treaties that the benefit of the European bourgeoisie is a condition for the benefit of the African bourgeoisie. Similarly, the benefit of the African bourgeoisie is a condition for the benefit of the European people. The hierarchy of exploitation of the people is thus established.

ZIMBABWE STRUGGLE

British agents, Smith's government and businessmen tried to sabotage and confuse the efforts of the African National Council (ANC), the only African nationalist movement currently leading the African struggle inside Rhodesia, by using African businessmen and some intellectuals against their own people. They were persuaded, in the interests of their future class position in Zimbabwe to form an organisation which, ironically, is called The African Progressive Union, to support the settlement proposals.

AFRICAN MASSES KNOW WHAT THEY WANT

But the masses of the African people have refused to be confused. They have continued to say 'No' to the proposals as long as the proposals did not mean the immediate removal of Smith's government; immediate African rule; more land reverting to the Africans in the countryside; and an immediate end to racial discrimination. So far as the ordinary man in the street is concerned the issues are quite simple.

Now that using the aspiring African bourgeoisie and conservative feudals against the masses has failed, the imperialists, the colonialists, their allies and agents are going ahead to adopt new tactics.

INTENSIVE PRO-SETTLEMENT CAMPAIGN

They have started a campaign headed by the so-called pro-African liberal Humphrey Gibbs, former Governor of Rhodesia. The aim is to swing African opinion in support of the Rhodesian independence settlement proposals. This is very highly organised and well-financed by the British and Rhodesian governments and businessmen. They are using helicopters to spread glossy pamphlets on how good the proposals are for both black and white.

PATRIOTISM AND SINCERITY NOT ENOUGH

Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who is the leader of the African National Council has been in Britain recently. He is a very patriotic and sincere man. But,

from the experience of nationalist leadership in 'Free Africa', patriotism and sincerity on their own are not enough for one leading the fight against modern imperialism. One needs a scientific ideology and the imperialists know this. That is why they have been trying to divert Muzorewa from the real struggle inside Zimbabwe. They encouraged him to leave Zimbabwe and come to Britain to appeal to the conscience of the British people.

It was explained to him that the real struggle was not fighting at home, but persuading the international community (which means mainly the imperialist West) to organise economic sanctions or to pressure Smith into surrendering to the Africans!

As they did for twelve years with ZANU and ZAPU leaders, they want to waste Muzorewa's time addressing UN meetings, touring Europe and North America and leaving the people at home leaderless. The Western powers want our people not to fight for their freedom, but to keep on hoping that freedom can come just through the help of the international community and a constitutional conference.

If the imperialists think that by trying to put Muzorewa 'in their armpits' they can control the African struggle, then they are very mistaken.

This new movement is called People Against Racial Discrimination (PARO). By racial discrimination they mean old racial laws and not the creation of any more new racist legislation - which is what the settlement proposals mean!

(H. Nekomu)

SOUTH AFRICA

WHY DO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE DENOUNCE THE BRITISH GOVT'S 'SELL-OUT SETTLEMENT'?

- * THEY'VE SEEN THE 1910 BRITISH GOVT. 'SETTLEMENT' IN ACTION IN SOUTH AFRICA.
- ** RHODESIA IS FAST GOING THE WAY OF RACIST SOUTH AFRICA IN ITS RUTHLESS SUPPRESSION OF BLACK FOLK

SHOW THE NAKED FACE OF APARTHEID
(at your next meeting)
DEPICTED IN ITS STARK BRUTALITY
IN

END OF DIALOGUE
(PHELA NDABA)

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SOUTH AFRICA

EDUCATION

for WHAT?

by ABDULLA MAX, our Education Correspondent

There are, according to Home Office sources, some 64,000 overseas students in the United Kingdom in any one year, consuming English education. This is a very large number of people; especially considering that 87 per cent of them originate from Britain's former colonies. At a minimum living requirement of £200 per annum per student this works out at £38,400,000 per year. To this add college and university fees of £250 per annum per student - £16 million - and you have a tidy total of £55,400,000, a remarkably profitable business for the mother country - a good slice of her 'invisible exports'.

There are, apart from the cash flow, other hidden but very valuable dividends accruing to the ruling class of the empire - completion of the job of indoctrination for elitism, started in the home country where the British patterns of education are still followed. By having them here there is more than an equal chance that they will acquire British values, modes of consumption, dress and the heartless ruling-class disregard for poverty and suffering, an individualistic desire for wealth, characteristics which will make them valuable assets for the neo-colonialist multinational corporations through which the international monopolists milk the 'Third World'.

It is true that the mother country foots a substantial part of the £55 million bill, mostly out of 'technical aid' programmes directly or indirectly through such agencies as the UN Development Programme, World Bank, etc. But that is another story. These are the people then that the Tanzanian document *CO-OPERATION AGAINST POVERTY* (published by the Tanzanian Government and available from the Tanzanian High Commission, London) addresses itself to. But are we capable of getting the message? Is there any chance of overseas students who are being educated here learning enough to make a breakthrough and see through the English system of education, the forms and patterns of which are dangerously divisive and hardly the sort of training likely to assist in nation-building and fit people 'to make their independence a reality, both politically and economically'?

Very few literate people do not know that Britain's education, and indeed its economic system, is under fierce attack internally by both her students and educationists, and is being daily exposed as an education designed to maintain the hold of the few rich on the backs of the majority poor.

It is with the kind of educational system referred to above that eight Italian teenage boys from the countryside have dealt in a very angry, harsh, penetrating and challenging book, *LETTER TO A TEACHER* by the School of Barbiana (Penguin Educational Special, price 40p).

Page after page, and chapter after chapter, of this tiny pocket-size Penguin hurls defiant questions at the education industry and brings down caustic judgements upon the weak-kneed of its practitioners 'Giant's mother, who doesn't know how to read, can see what the problems of the school are. And so will anybody who knows the pain

endured by a child when he fails, and who has enough patience to look through the statistics. Then the figures will begin to scream in your face. They say that the Giants run into millions and that you are either stupid or evil.'

The teenagers seem to ask how anyone can have cooperation against poverty when Asian and African countries still send thousands of their young women and men to Europe for many courses that could easily be set up in any country, and definitely in any region at much less financial and other hidden costs. One need only look at many university and college courses: law, medicine, accountancy/ company secretaryship, town and country planning, etc. In some of these courses, syllabi and examinations are set by apparently conservative and insular cliques of Englishmen, responsible to nobody but their self-perpetuating selves; maintaining failure rates at more than 50 per cent in every one of the their examinations. Why is this?

'SCHOOL IS A WAR AGAINST THE POOR'

Is it because the children of the poor even in this country are bound to find it difficult to make the grade, and be unable to afford the long periods of training or attendance as full-time students that is often required? The point is not that they cannot stand the long period of training/attendance required, but that they are often called upon very

early in their lives to contribute to the family's total income. In the case of the 'Third World' students their prolonged stay overseas involves more expenditure of the 'foreign exchange' that their countries can ill-afford; coupled with that may be the fact that their prolonged stay in Europe goes as near as possible to enlisting them on the side of the colonial masters.

'School is a war against the poor' declare the authors of *LETTER TO A TEACHER*. They could have validly added that the whole of the 'Free World' is a huge Westpoint/Sandhurst complex for the training of the anti-people mercenaries of the multinational corporations.

The same message of war against the poor is thrown up by the Tanzanian document *CO-OPERATION AGAINST POVERTY*. It sees one of the problems militating against an effective challenge to neo-colonialism in the following terms.

'... second difficulty in pursuing a strategy... is even more basic. It is that many groups in the Third World - including some ruling elites and members of some governments - see their interests as being compatible with the workings of the present international economic order.'

One may ask, what order? That of ostentation, unemployment of the millions, their poverty and degradation!

LETTER TO A TEACHER and *CO-OPERATION AGAINST POVERTY* can be recommended as essential reading for any literate and intelligent person. The first is a passionate, defiant and angry book; the second is a lucid analysis of international monopoly capital and identification of those elements that point in the direction of change, without which the 'Third World' will forever remain third.

(One need not have passed any 'A' levels at all to get the message very loud and very clear: (from *LETTER TO A TEACHER*) 'The theory of genius is a bourgeois invention. It was born from a compound of racialism and laziness.'

cultural imperialism in hong-kong

This monstrous phenomenon - neo-colonialism, is the same wherever it is. As a means to its deadly ends it never ceases to create the black evolves - the black faces white masks ones from Algeria to Hong Kong. So there's nothing strange in seeing that in Hong Kong not one single writer, scientist or philosopher has emerged from the Chinese University, the University of Hong Kong, the Baptist College or any of the other colleges. It is not that the Chinese are lower than any other race. The bitter fact is that the Hong Kong students are strangled intellectually by the colonial education. Let us examine now the language education in Hong Kong.

All government schools except those for the privileged class, the British children, use Chinese (Cantonese) as the language of instruction. This is absolutely correct. The problem is that when this group of primary students enter their English secondary schools, all subjects are taught in English, except Chinese. This does great harm to the students' power of reasoning.

Since this colonial government has to emphasise the importance of English, and to destroy Chinese culture in order to create a new colonial culture, naturally it both tempts and forces the Hong Kong students to study English. For instance, officers who know English have a privileged entry to all the high posts in the government, and English language is

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from opposite page)

the most important subject in all sorts of examinations. There are only two government-run Chinese secondary schools to put up as a show. The rest are English secondary schools. All the students compete to enter the latter and make great efforts to study English. As a result, the government gets the following advantages:

(1) The students only give attention to English and look down on Chinese. The gradual decline of Chinese culture in Hong Kong will reduce feeling for China among the Chinese in Hong Kong. As a result, the British colonial power in Hong Kong will not be challenged.

(2) Ninety-nine per cent of the population in Hong Kong are Chinese. Most of them know no English. Even among those who have studied in English secondary schools, there are some who cannot speak English fluently. Thus those who know English naturally acquire a sense of superiority. The British naturally gain a high place in this ridiculous hierarchy.

(3) Forcing the students to work hard on English, the government can assimilate the Hong Kong people and hinder or even strangle their intellectual development. The result favours colonial rule. (The Hong Kong government does not welcome the intellectual, e.g. not many universities were built; as a result many students go abroad for further study, and these students are not encouraged to return to Hong Kong. All this reveals that the intellectual is not encouraged to stay in Hong Kong. Recently a new immigration bill was passed to expel intellectual and liberal-minded foreigners.)

WHY SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON ENGLISH WILL LOWER THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE STUDENTS IN HONG KONG

When the Hong Kong students enter their secondary schools, they are around 12 or 14 years old. This is the period when the adolescent is most enthusiastic in their pursuit of knowledge, and the time when their intellectual power is developing most rapidly. Unfortunately they have to use English textbooks. They have to turn to the dictionary frequently in order to understand the text because English is not their mother tongue. They only have a vague idea of what the book tells. This does not only reduce their interest in study, but also discourages them from intelligent thinking and further investigation. For instance, by having to spend most of the time studying the words in a book on physics, their interest in the subject itself naturally decreases.

Their reading speed is reduced because they have to use English textbooks. It follows that they absorb ideas more slowly, and their interest flags. However, in these circumstances, can they develop their own ideas? How can they use a second language to create? No wonder the ideas and the creative power of the Hong Kong students are so poor. That the education system is a plain failure is one of the causes that combine to make Hong Kong a cultural desert.

(From a Hong Kong student magazine known by the numbers 14 12 19 61, Vol. 1, No. 5, September 1971)

GRASS

*I try to be like the grass.
Pressed down by the cares and the
roll of the day
that by unheeding indifference
Respondent to love, friendship,
consideration
I lift my head to the sky, the sun
and the rain
Reviving.

Try to be like the grass
Inoffensive, ubiquitous, life-giving
Trampled down alike by Man and machine
Lost in the dust and burnt by the heat
Responsive to gentle cooling water
Irrepressible; covering the wasted
land
With a sudden blinding brilliance of
green
Feeding the hungry millions with its
seed
And the lush pastures' crop of flesh
Pleasing the tired and jaundiced eye
But often unnoticed, withdrawn, un-
remarked
Growing up in odd corners.*

*People are like the grass
Trodden under the tyrant's foot
Terrified, they seek shelter
Lying flat to escape the cutting edge
of death
Entered and blown by the winds and
storms of change
Bending, they are not often brave.
But at last, unvanquished, they rise
again
Seed sown by the revolting, the dis-
contented
Springs up surprising, irresistibly,
Unconquerable!*

(TAVE BYRON)

politics of reggae

*A young militant from the Caribbean
shows how culture is not divorced
from politics - bourgeois or
revolutionary*

A great leap forward has been achieved in the revolutionary consciousness of the youths in the Caribbean. And this consciousness that has gripped the black youth in Brutany (Britain) has manifested itself in the music.

There has been for the past five years a strong ideological struggle going on between the youths in Brutany. On the outside this struggle looks like a fight between youths who favour soul and those who favour reggae, but on the inside this struggle has a political and cultural base. On one hand there is the grass-roots elements and on the other hand there is the petty bourgeois elitist elements, believing that the funky psychodelic scene is more civilised and sophisticated than the 'dubby teefing byoy them reggae boogie' - they imitate and aspire to a more clean party. These sorely misled people even come around squawking in a parrot-type Yankee accent. Even more revolting, they even try to cast aside the Caribbean lingo as lowly and inferior.

The grassroots elements reject this idea not because they quite understand that it is reactionary, to them 'this scenes ya lane'. These righteous youths realise the joy in acting and living natural.

Due to the deliberate lack of proper communication between black people in Brutany and the Caribbean one of the means of hearing what is happening in the Caribbean is via the records. The records are like a people's news media. On Saturday nights we would hear of government bulldozers smashing down poor black people's homes; we hear of the Rude boys clashing with the brutal police force; the big strike; Hong Kong flu; rude boys and police again.

Black people have always related to their situation and expressed it. In short, black people in the Caribbean sing of everyday conditions, conditions of brutality, poverty, unemployment, social discrimination and suffering in the land. These conditions have given rise to social consciousness which is marked by pleas for love and unity: walk with love, love your brother, love your sister as you'll even love your mother - these are no empty words, they have a deep social meaning and have to be examined as such. We hear melodies of going back to Africa to live in unity and love, we hear sounds of rise Rasta rise and free the people, we hear versions calling for Babylon to fall.

The 1970s have marked a radical and revolutionary change in the thinking of the black youth throughout the Caribbean and Brutany. The black musicians in the Caribbean, who live among the masses and are the masses have given revolutionary black culture a great leap forward. Records such as *Rivers of Babylon; Blood and fire; Let the power fall for I; Chie chie bud; Don't you weep; Know for I; Police-man trim rasta; Starvation; Pirate; Give me power; Beat down Babylon; Alpha and omega; and Love of the common people*. There are some heavy, heavy bongo drum freedom sounds. In the immortal words of Hugh Roy, 'Versions galore'.

According to the universal laws of dialectical materialism all things undergo change, nothing ever stands still, things are always developing and the youths in the Caribbean have adhered to this universal law both at home and right here in the belly of the monster. Youths in Brutany call one another brother and sister, greetings of peace brother, love sister, walk with love brethren, peace and love, one time, later, much more love, and power to the Nation. Where before if you never knew a man or a woman you no talk to them, today it is different.

Today it is social injustice and the call is for social change, tomorrow the call will be of economical and political injustice and the call will be for revolution!

*We must work hand in hand
United we shall stand
Our children will live happy
When we tear down Babylon*

Do not underestimate the ability of our people to understand any kind of situation we're in. Not all of our people are ready to fight or see the necessity to fight, so the duty of instructing them lies with those who do.

(MORE NEXT MONTH FROM THE SAME PEN)

PALESTINE IN THE WESTERN SUB-CONSCIOUS

A continuation of the article by PHILIP OCHIENG, the first part of which appeared in our January issue.

LITTLE ONE

Another familiar remark in the West is: 'Look at what Israel has done in twenty years!' Israel, the little one. A miracle in the sea of uncreative giants. Meaning Israel's economic 'strides.'

And yet it is nothing but Western conscious or sub-conscious self-congratulation. For once again it is capital from the West which has made that economic history possible.

But let us not fall into the pitfall. During those 20 years, have the Arabs not made history? That's a rhetorical question because during then it was Nasser who was the prime mover of history in the Middle East.

It must not be forgotten, too, that during that time, the vertical economic growth of the Kingdom of Jordan has been more spectacular than that of Israel. I mention only two examples.

We shall later consider the strange marriage between the Christian West and the Zionist Jews. What we must now look into is the Western stereotype that on either side of the Crusades nothing at all happened in the Middle East, that Arabs could not make history.

And yet very few events have influenced history more than the rise and spread of Islam in the seventh century. But Western history education gives this phenomenal event only a cursory look. The immense career of Islam exists only vaguely in the Western mind.

It is hardly remembered that the Arabs built an empire which extended from Persia in the east to Morocco, Spain and France in the west; from Turkey and the Russian borders in the north to East Africa in the south.

East Africans do not have a particularly fond memory of the Arab hegemony over us: the slave trade. But that's not my point. I am not arguing that the Arab empire was the holiest, or the most human. All imperialism is evil.

The point I am trying to make is: when the Arabs were carving out that empire, one of history's largest, were they not winning wars? Were they not making history?

As a matter of fact even in East Africa the Arabs made history in a very constructive way. Their language and culture played a central role in the emergence of Africa's most vital language and culture, Swahili.

Whatever their sins in East Africa, our hatred of their grandchildren is unjustifiable, if you measure it against our relative acceptance of white capitalists, who committed far greater atrocities against the black race.

Western education tends to slight Arab history because: how many Westerners would wish to tell their children that their forefathers were once ruled over by an 'inferior' race? Mussolini invaded Ethiopia for nothing more than that the Ethiopians had defeated the Italians at Adowa in 1896!

RULED SPAIN

French schoolchildren are all familiar with the Battle of Poitiers in 732, when the Frankish chief, Charles Martel, defeated the Arabs in Southern France. But they could not imagine that the Arabs (the Saracens) ruled over Spain, Southern France, and large parts of Italy for centuries.

Nor do Westerners (and ourselves also) ever stop to realise we owe the Arabs a debt which we cannot repay: in science, architecture, astronomy, literature and so on.

Thanks in particular to the great Court of the famous Harun al-Rashid of Baghdad (and to other Omayyad, Alid and Fatimid Khalifas), who patronised these; we owe to the Arabs some of the most sublime poetry of all time.

In fiction, too. It is probably to Harun's Baghdad that, for instance, the Swahili owe the delightfully human anecdotes of Abunawas, and such other ingenious works of fiction as 'Alifu Lela U'lela'.

It was the Arabs who invented the science of algebra (the word is Arabic) - a system of making letters stand for numbers in the solution of certain mathematical equations - a major breakthrough in the development of mathematical science.

ITS GLORY

The arithmetical numbers we use today are also Arabic in origin. Before the Arabs, the West used a cumbersome Roman numeral system. For instance,

in Roman numbering, MCXV stands for 1115. But now imagine yourself having to multiply MCXV by MCXV!

These and many more, are contributions which the self-professed omiscient West will never remember to remember! There is architectural monument enough - for those who would give their eyes to see its glory - at Baghdad, Cairo, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cordoba and Granada.

But when the Arabs were making all this history, listen to what the Christian West was doing to its own Jewry. From the Inquisition and wholesale massacres in Scholastic Rome, to third-degree tortures in and expulsion from post-Renaissance Western Europe.

From the pogroms of Russia and Eastern Europe, and the ignominious Dreyfus affair in France during the last century, to the active American public opprobrium, and finally to Hitler's hecatomb 20 years ago in which more than six million Jews lie buried. Two thousand years of misery for the western Jews.

PRIME FACTOR

In the case of Palestine, then, how is the alliance between the Christian West and Jewish Zionism to be explained?

Capital and foreign economic domination is the prime factor.

But two other explanations underlie the Western public support for Israel.

(Continued on next page)

(Ctd from opposite)

The first is an idea in the minds of some practising Christians that the Zionist capture of Jerusalem represented the fulfilment of a Biblical prophecy. (See Isaiah and the New Testament).

Of Jerusalem, had they not always sung: 'I know not, O, I know not what joys await us there... There stand those halls of David, and there from care relieved... Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blest...?'

Many Christian theologians - such as Oxbry, Stagg and Sherman - do not, however, take to such a view. They say that the Jerusalem of God is only an allegory of an 'after-life'. The Jerusalem of God is 'on high', not in Palestine.

And if anything lends colour to that idea, it is that in the Zionist Jerusalem there is no milk and honey blest for the Christians or for the non-white Jews. No joy awaits them there, no relief, as we shall see.

The second explanation is that while there is a deep sense of guilt on the part of the ordinary Christian West for its centuries of untold crimes against Jewry, there is an equally deep sense of uneasiness or 'allergy' about the continued Jewish presence in the West.

HOMELAND

The creation of Israel was like killing two birds with one stone: help them find a 'homeland' away from the West and so atone for your guilt; and make sure you keep them in their new settlement and so get rid of the allergy.

Dump them anywhere. If Palestine is available, then QUICKLY! If in the process of finding a 'final solution' to the enduring 'Jewish problem' you should wrong other people, it does not matter. In the process the Christian West has been party to untold crimes against the native Palestinians, many of whom are Christian.

And in the process we find one of the bitterest of all historical ironies. The Jews who only yesterday perished by the million because of the myth of race are now allied with the very devil and are flogging Israeli fellows on the same grounds of race.

Most Levantine, African, Indian, Chinese Jews, who had come with great expectations, are now second class citizens, with few civil rights. While many are fleeing to external liberation fronts,

How have the Zionists forgotten history so soon? They have no racial kinship with Palestine, the kith-and-kin theorem.

So large was the stomach of Zionism, that in this prejudiced world, they forgot that their action would make the world continue to hate those other Jews who have no part in the Zionist evil and are loyal citizens of other countries. The Zionists pave the way for other Hitlers.

(PHILIP OCHIEWI'S article first appeared in THE STANDARD of Tanzania, December 30 1971)

RED BOOK - INTERNATIONAL BEST SELLER

To quote the American magazine *Time* of February 7th 1972: 'One US general tells of having to lecture some Vietnamese generals at a recent Saigon dinner. "I told them that in 1968, General Vo Nguyen Giap (the Communist Defence Minister) had a regiment fight right here in Saigon. He had no helicopters, no A-48s, no UHs, no B-52s. "Hoi," I said, "he's Vietnamese too. So how do you suppose General Giap solved his logistics problems?" They said they really didn't know, so I told them that the most important thing in war is not equipment. The most important thing in war is men and what they think and what their convictions are.''

But this is precisely what the Communists in China meant in the 1930s when they said: 'People, not things are the factor determining victory or defeat in war.' And from two Chinese pamphlets we find: 'You fight in your own way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't.

In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely on highly conscious revolutionary people; you give full play to your superiority and we give full play to ours; you have your way of fighting and we have ours. When you want to fight us, we don't let you and you can't even find us. But when we want to fight you, we make sure that you can't get away and we hit you squarely on the chin and wipe you out. When we are able to wipe you out, we do so with a vengeance; when we can't, we see to it that you don't wipe us out. It is opportunism if one won't fight when one can win. It is adventurism if one insists on fighting when one can't win. Fighting is the pivot of all our strategy and tactics. It is because of the necessity of fighting that we admit the necessity of moving away. The sole purpose of moving away is to fight and bring about the final and complete destruction of the enemy. This strategy and these tactics can be applied only when one relies on the broad masses of the people, and such application brings the superiority of people's war into full play. However superior he may be in technical equipment and whatever tricks he may resort to, the enemy will find himself in the passive position of having to receive blows, and his initiative will always be in our hands. (From *Long Live the Victory of People's War*)

Guerrilla tactics consist mainly of the following points: 'Divide our forces to arouse the masses, concentrate our forces to deal with the enemy.

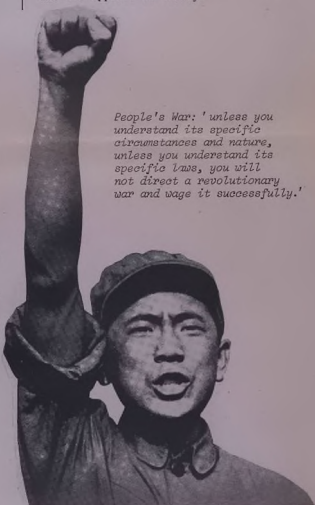
The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.

To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around.

Arouse the largest numbers of the masses in the shortest possible time and by the best possible methods.' (From *A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*)

One of the best pamphlets on this subject was written by Chinese army and naval officials in 1968. It is *Mao Tse-Tung's Thought is the Invincible Weapon*.

From practical experience they say that no army, no matter how strong and modern, can defeat guerrilla warfare based on the principles of people's war, i.e. a war of oppressed and exploited people - like the Vietnamese and the people of Southern Africa - which can only be waged with revolutionary theories explained in the pamphlets mentioned above. This, of course, is a war which can never be led by petty-bourgeois nationalists who are opposed to theory.



People's War: 'unless you understand its specific circumstances and nature, unless you understand its specific laws, you will not direct a revolutionary war and wage it successfully.'

These are precisely the reasons why the Little Red Book is a best-seller in Africa, where it will definitely sell faster than the Bible. The Bible talks of class collaboration, the rich being persuaded to be kind enough to give some of their riches to the poor, the oppressed loving their enemy and giving unconditional aid when the poor being encouraged to remember that God says 'be content with what you have'. This sounds like a ruling class ideology of pacification.

But oppressed people with their empty stomachs hate to co-exist and collaborate with, or to love their exploiters. This is why they rebel. The Little Red Book comes in handy as the best practical and philosophical articulator of the aspirations of oppressed people.

It talks of class struggle, the rich or the bourgeoisie being violently overthrown, the oppressed fighting the enemy, the poor people being reminded that they have a right to the wealth of the country which must be shared equally among its people as a whole. It shows how to fight feudalism, landlordism, superstition or a liberal kind of exploitation.

(H. NEKOMI)

LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN DHOFAR

The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in the Arab Gulf is rich in oil, so the international oil companies, backed by the big Western powers, are determined to maintain the status quo there under a pro-Western sultan in order to protect their enormous profits. But in Dhofar, the western 'dependency' of the Sultanate, a revolutionary people's war is being waged, and with increasing success. Here a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT explains the background and present state of the struggle.

At the end of last year Britain officially 'withdrew' its forces from the Arab Gulf, leaving a so-called 'independent' Union of Arab Emirates. But Britain has not withdrawn all its forces. In the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, the British are maintaining and enlarging bases manned by British troops whose duties include flying the sultan's Air Force and supporting the counter-revolutionary sultan's Armed Forces (SAF).

The SAF are run entirely by British officers either seconded or contracted (mercenaries). The SAF are attempting to repress the masses of Dhofar, the western 'dependency' of the sultanate, once described by the ex-sultan, Said bin Taimur as 'my private estate'.

ORIGINS OF THE LIBERATION FRONT

It was in June 1965 that the Dhofar Liberation Front took to the mountains and launched armed struggle against the tyrannical sultan and his British 'advisors'. Then the Front faced an arduous task with outdated weapons, little ammunition and no secure base or means of communication.

Despite this, the sultan's attempts to repress the revolution failed and the majority of the population has joined the liberation struggle; this has, in turn, forced the British to intervene more directly in the affairs of its colony.

In 1968, the Dhofar Liberation Front became the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFOAG). It adopted a Marxist-Leninist programme and was supported by the successful establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen, in 1967. Ever since, it has been increasingly successful. They have now liberated all of Dhofar except the Salala Plain.

CONCESSIONS TO DIVERT THE STRUGGLE

In fact their success was such that in 1970 the British decided to depose the tyrannical Sultan Said bin Taimur, when armed struggle extended to Oman itself with the activities of the National Democratic Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFOAG's sister movement). The sultan was replaced by his Sandhurst-trained son, Qabus, a 'progressive', whose role was to make minimal improvements in social conditions to pacify the population, thus isolating the revolutionaries and exposing them to inevitable defeat.

But he has failed to achieve this. The people's war has increased rather than diminished. PFOAG's programme of education and social reforms provide far more for the people than Qabus can ever offer them.

It is for this reason that in the last few months, a major offensive was launched by the British against the Dhofaris, including the Social Air

Services (SAS) - crack troops specially trained in anti-guerrilla warfare. Yet, because of the determination of PFOAG and its support among the people, this too has failed.

A successful revolution in Dhofar would inevitably spread to Oman and throughout the Gulf, and the major powers are frightened by this prospect. Where Britain has withdrawn, the USA has already sought to move in, through the agency of Iran and Saudi Arabia, and has itself taken over the British base in Bahrain.

This failure and the death of two SAS men have in effect broken the conspiracy of silence in the British news media over events in Dhofar. The *Times* reported in mid-December that 'the Dhofar rebellion has reached the pitch of a revolutionary war even after a year of determined thrusts by the Sultan's Armed Forces.'



PROTRACTED STRUGGLE FORESEEN

But the struggle is far from being over. International capitalism represented by the major oil monopolies cannot afford to allow the people of Dhofar to gain their liberation. The Gulf is of vital importance to oil imperialism. Some 90 per cent of Japan's oil, and over 55 per cent of Western Europe's come from the area. The People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen is suffering increasing attacks from North Yemen supported by Saudi Arabia (and therefore by the USA). The British, though they have officially withdrawn, continue to maintain their interests through the bogus Union of Arab Emirates.

The forces of imperialism and international capitalism are gathering to prevent the peoples of the Gulf from liberating themselves from exploitation. The success of that liberation struggle rests with the vanguard struggle of the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf and the brave resistance and survival of the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen.

For further information on the struggle in Dhofar, including official documents of PFOAG, see: *DHOFAH: BRITAIN'S COLONIAL WAR IN THE GULF* (20p); available from the Gulf Committee, c/o BRP, 3 Shavers Place, London S.W.1.

(Continued from page 1)

BUSIA IN EXILE

Why should Busia choose to stay in Britain? This is not surprising, for he is a part of the establishment. He is more than an Englishman. He regards the environment and life in Africa as alien to him. He accepts working in Africa only as Prime Minister. How can a man like that appreciate the full meaning of the power of the people?

This is not the first time Busia has had to stay in exile.

But unlike Kwame Nkrumah who had chosen to stay in Africa and has devoted all his time in exile to writing books that will be of great help to black revolutionaries all over the world in the course of accomplishing socialist revolution in Africa; Busia spent all his time in exile on subversion.

Today Busia is back in exile in Britain once again. Let him go ahead with his support of Britain once more.

Nkrumah remains the most popular leader as far as the Ghanaian masses are concerned and even throughout the rest of Africa. The imperialist press has even had to admit this fact. His ideas still live in the hearts of Africans and his latest books clarify where the enemies of Africa try to distort them. This is why the masses of Ghana are demanding his return to power.

For reasons of space we are unable to publish our first LETTERS TO THE EDITOR and two articles on GHANA; one on BANGLADESH; one on CHILE and TANZANIA; one on CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE and some BOOK REVIEWS intended for this issue, so they now form part of next month's material.

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